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major cultural variation between these regions? Or is it a combination of these factors? At present the writer finds himself unable to settle such an issue.

In conclusion, it is extremely difficult to show the extent to which Silwa is a typical Egyptian village. All that can be claimed is that Silwa at least represents one of the village types prevailing in Upper Egypt. It also reflects in its community life some of the national problems of population pressure, of agricultural economy, malnutrition, and slow rate of accepting government-sponsored programmes as evidenced by instances of resistance and evasion which will be discussed later.

If, however, no single concrete statement about Silwa applies to other villages in Upper Egypt, the writer can tentatively assume that through the diversity of details there runs a common outlook and ethos of life and that very few differences obtain with regard to the cultural values and the aims and methods of socialization.[1]

Silwa, however, was not primarily chosen for a field-work investigation for its 'typicalness' or otherwise, and the writer must admit that 'the prime mover' for this selection was his personal connection with the village. In it he was born and brought up till the age of seven, when he left to receive his primary-school education in Aswan, his secondary education in Sohaj, province of Jirja, and his university course in Cairo. Throughout his life he has never severed his contacts with his birthplace as he used to stay there during summer holidays and the short-term vacations. The writer lived in close emotional, spiritual and intellectual touch with the villagers, a position which has its merits and demerits for such a study.

The choice of such a village was also appropriate as it presents a convenient starting point for a first study of this kind, as the village is relatively isolated and homogeneous where the traditional culture is presumably better preserved than others in more contact with city life. With fewer social sub-divisions, with no complexity of social classes, of differential functions and of division of labour, and with the dominance of universals and a minimum of alternatives and specialities in social behaviour, such a community is more amenable to study for a single investigator.[2]

With no problem of learning the language or even the dialect, the six months of field work were fairly adequate to carry out such an investigation.

[1] For the substantiation or modification of such a statement, research in other Provinces has to be considered. The gap in such studies has been felt by many scholars. 'The Near and Middle East can show practically no contributions to these studies.' Margaret Read, *Education and Cultural Tradition*, London, 1951, p. 20. 'No Moslem writer, in either medieval or modern times, has condescended to describe the organization of village life in his country.' H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Vol. I, Part 1, London, 1950, p. 5.

[2] The terms 'universals, alternatives and specialities' have been introduced by R. Linton and are used here in the same way. See his book *The Study of Man*, New York, 1946, pp. 272–4. R. Firth refers to the value of concentrated observation of small-unit behaviour, a type of study for which he suggests the term micro-sociology, in *Elements of Social Organization*, London, 1951.

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125 reactions and sentiments for different situations. These tests are also expected to draw the attention of the field worker to data which otherwise might escape his notice.

The Projective Test of the Rorschach Ink Blots is growing in popularity as a technique in field work especially amongst those anthropologists who are concerned with the relations between culture and personality. The test is intended to reveal 'the basic organization of the personality structure, including the fundamental affective and cognitive features of mental life'.[1] In spite of many difficulties and limitations in applying such a test, some Rorschach researchers, working with anthropologists, have noted that the principles of the test could be applied with some validity in cross-cultural situations.[2]

Our purpose in administering Intelligence tests was not primarily for inter-group comparisons, but mainly to elicit information regarding the mental 'orientation' characteristic of the group. Three types of tests were selected, verbal (Kabbani's test for primary school children), a paper and pencil test (Porteus Maze), and a practical performance test (Alexander's pass-along). The assumption is that the significant differences in the score of these tests would be considered as different adjustment to different test material and situations. This could be legitimately regarded as reflection of specific qualitative factors of culture, and culturally determined forms of intelligence. In a study of the effects of culture upon children's thoughts and actions, these data are deemed relevant to our purposes.[3]

124 Our methods lack the sociological depth afforded by the gathering of life histories, and intensive case studies of families and individuals supplementing a more diffused and general study of a greater number of individuals. Resistance was expected and encountered in such attempts, even with my informants as shown in Appendix I. Various reasons can be given for such resistance. They were ill at ease at doing things for research, reluctant to engage in an activity which might be considered as dangerous gossip, especially when recorded on paper, and might reach official circles. [156] Their attitude is that personal problems should be 'covered' and not 'exposed' to others. Perhaps their interest was not sufficiently stimulated, for they would ask me, 'And what is the use of all this to us?' It became ● 123 obvious to me during my field work that in order to get the full co-operation of the people for such research, it was necessary to be able to help them in their everyday problems. One villager expressed this in a candid way: 'You must now be useful to us as we have been helpful to you.' A similar observation has been made by Oscar Lewis, who advocates, on the basis of his experience in Tepoztlan, the combination of research

[1] B. Klopfer and D. Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique*, New York, 1946 edition, p. ix.
[2] Cora du Bois, *The People of Alor*, University of Minnesota Press, 1944, p. 589.
[3] S. Nadel, 'The Application of Intelligence Tests in the Anthropological Field', in *The Study of Society*, pp. 184–97. For a full account of these tests and their application and findings, see Appendices.

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and service programmes as an excellent way of integrating the fields of both applied and theoretical Anthropology.[1] This constraint and fear of divulging personal information could be also attributed to the vulnerability of the villagers' ego-structure, to which we shall refer later.[2]

What relevance have such assumptions and approach to a study in education? A great part of the answer to such a question must be obvious by now. If education, in its broadest sense, is the process of transmitting the cultural contents, values, attitudes, and the body of technical and social experience from one generation to another, surely the sociological approach is of the greatest value in educational research and educational policies. As Sir Fred Clarke expressed it, culture is the whole life-medium, and not the background with which education is concerned.[3] Formal educational institutions, from schools to universities, are only one transmissive agent of any nation's 'way of life'. Our approach does not preclude the assumption that they are amongst the most efficient means of such transmission or that they are also a potent force in effecting social change. Here we are mainly concerned with education as the means of cultural continuity, of building social solidarity and cohesion. It is probably because of uncritical faith in schools and other formal educational institutions that this transmissive role of education has been ignored. This is vaguely felt when some educationists go to the extreme and advocate leaving children absolutely free for the development of their peculiarities of interest and behaviour. Such are rightly designated as cranks. Apart from those who entertain the ideas of Rousseau's Emile, 'we are well aware that children learn their patterns of social behaviour, their ideas on family life and earning a living, their value systems in relation to social and economic life, far more extensively and intensively outside school than inside'.[4] Society thus keeps itself as a going concern by educating its individuals to its established and time-tested ways of believing, feeling, thinking, and reacting for purposes of social action.[5]

Looking at education from this viewpoint may perhaps be disheartening to those educational planners and administrators who are anxious to go

[1] Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village*, Introduction, p. xv

[2] Differences between cultures are also reflected in the varying ease with which field workers could procure life-histories. This point was brought to my attention by Cora du Bois who mentioned to me the striking difference in this connection between the flow of the Navaho and the constraint of the Alorese. Of course, my informants, being related to me, would not have accepted money, but perhaps other services. In such a community, people would not accept financial recompense for information given to one from the village itself. In case of an outsider, such payment might be a good incentive in a community which jealously guards against the divulging of personal and family privacies. For motivation of informants see S. F. Nadel, 'The Interview in Social Anthropology', in *The Study of Society*, ed. by F. C. Bartlett.

[3] Sir Fred Clarke, *Freedom in the Educative Society*, London, 1948.

[4] Paper read by M. Read before the Education Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Edinburgh, August, 1951.

[5] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*, New York, 1949, p. 188.

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THEORETICAL LEADS AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

[2] cultural continuity and social change? How can modern schooling be organized to promote economic productivity? Does the national system of education operate within the traditional value system and social sanctions, and if not what does it offer instead? Of course, these issues cannot be answered in this book, for we are mainly concerned with the educative process of the traditional pattern in a community which is hardly influenced by modern schooling.

In summary we may say that this is an attempt to study childhood in an [23] Egyptian village community. Children are not only observed in school or classroom, but also in their everyday life within the social group in which they live, work, play, and move. As far as is known to the writer there have been no studies of this kind, except a few autobiographies written by some eminent writers.[1] Such autobiographies, however, must be regarded, if to be made use of in sociological studies, in the light of two main reservations. The first is the therapeutic manipulation of the writer's memory for certain experiences, and the second is the requirements of literary style.[2]

[1] See, for example, Taha Hussain, *al Ayam* (in Arabic), translated into English by E. H. Paxton, *An Egyptian Childhood*, London, 1932. Ahmed Ameen, *Hayati* (*My Life*), Cairo, 1950 (in Arabic). Edward Atiyah, *An Arab Tells His Story*, London, 1946.

[2] See Margaret Mead, 'Research on Primitive Children', in L. Carmichael, *Manual of Child Psychology*, New York, 1946, pp. 694–5.

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ADOLESCENCE, SEX AND MARRIAGE

The following table shows the percentages of monogamous and polygamous marriages among the Moslem population in the country as a whole.

TABLE V

Percentage of monogamous and polygamous marriages

Number of wives	1927	1937
One wife	95·18	96·86
Two wives	4·49	2·95
Three wives	0·29	0·17
Four wives	0·04	0·02[1]

What does it feel like to be a newly married bride, confined to her house, with the occasional temptations of stealing a peep through the holes of the door onto the outside world? What is her complex emotion on seeing her husband returning home or while serving him, washing his hands, watching him eat, etc.? Does she fear her first sexual experience? Does her husband show an affection towards the girl in sexual intercourse? Are other erogenous zones used in sex? What are the overtones of small talk, if any, between husband and wife in the midst of the recurrent experiences of sexual intercourse which is one of the great pleasures in such a culture?[2] Such issues are significant to a study of the factors influencing the interaction of culture and personality. The writer cannot claim to give any substantial answer to such questions as the whole issue is taboo and it would be impossible for a person who is normally part of this culture to raise such points without endangering his prestige.

By getting married, the bridegroom and bride have achieved the hallmark of adulthood; and this brings satisfaction to one's parents. The transfer of the wife to the patrilocal residence is usually thought of after she bears a child, and by then her mother prepares for her a special headcover (tawada) to enable her to go out. The wife's settlement in her husband's house does not end her connection with her family, as it is her father's home which is always opened for her as a safeguard against any maltreatment from her husband or other members of his family.[3]

[1] *Pocket Census of 1948*, p. 12.

[2] It is a well-known fact that some newly wed husbands become impotent during their first sexual experiences and are usually then called tied (marbout). In such cases, a religious man would be invited to read for him, or write a charm which he wears under his clothes. Sometimes when this fact is known, a friend of this married man would go and tell him that he has 'tied' him; and for this the friend would invite the husband to a meal of pigeons.

[3] When a wife forsakes her husband's home for her father's she is known as 'hardani', and mediators or an Arab council would try to reconciliate the two sides. For a similar situation see Hilma Granqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 225–32.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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with the sticks or *būṣ* as fuel. Here, too, are set up the household granaries.

The houses, especially the better-built ones, admirably suit the Egyptian climate. There is only one thing lacking to make them really pleasant places to live in, and that is greater cleanliness within the houses themselves and without in the streets. The salvation of the people lies in the fact that they lead essentially an outdoor life, the houses being regarded almost solely as places to sleep and cook in; otherwise the mortality would be considerably higher than it is.

FIG. 7. VIEW OVER THE HOUSE-TOPS

I know how comfortable a well-kept house of the better kind can be, having lived in one for five months. This house stood on a high mound formed by the *débris* of earlier buildings; for in Egypt, when a house has collapsed or has been pulled down, the mass of rubbish is not necessarily removed, but when it has been sufficiently levelled another house is erected on the top of it. The whole of the upper floor of this house was placed at my disposal, my apartments consisting of a small bedroom and a sitting-room. The latter had two unglazed but shuttered windows, from which I could look over the tops of the neighbouring houses and be a spectator of the varied life on the roofs. Outside the rooms was a partly covered passage, from which a glorious view of the sunsets could be obtained.

The villages are intersected by narrow lanes—in most cases they

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such a charm from the neck, the charm-case hanging under the right arm. I am told that a small piece of the placenta is sometimes used in this way instead of the cord, but so far I have not come across this usage myself.

Another method employed to prolong a child's life is the following. If a Muslim woman has had several children who have all died in early infancy, when another is born she asks a Coptic woman to give her *barakeh* (blessing, good luck), in order that the newly born child may live. The *barakeh* she asks for is either a part of a dress which has been worn by the Coptic woman or her husband, or else a dress which has belonged to one of their children. The dress *must* be that of a Christian, not of a Muslim. Among the Copts this custom does not exist. I asked why a Muslim should ask for the dress of a Christian, and I was told it was because they are good people.

A woman who has lost several children and wishes to ensure that the newly born infant will live acts as follows. She carries her baby in her arms, and, with a basket made of palm-leaves on her head,[1] goes from house to house begging for *ḥaseneh* (charity) for her child. She will do this however rich she may be, behaving as if she were a very poor woman. Some people may give her money, others *battaw* or *khubz* (two kinds of bread) and other articles of food. She will then distribute these gifts among the poor people of the village, even if she be as poor as they. She believes that, as the result of this action, God, or her *karīneh*, will allow her to keep her child.

On many different occasions women have brought their babies to me with the request that I would spit into their mouths, in order to give them *barakeh* and make them live long! Also I found that many of my old clothes that I had thrown away were torn up, and small pieces of them given to various mothers in the village, who hung them on their babies as charms to prolong life. One expectant mother came and begged me to let her have one of my old frocks, in order that her child might be born on to it! She, poor thing, did not get her request granted, and I regret to say that her baby died very soon after birth!

Some women kill a puppy at the seventh month of their pregnancy. The puppy is killed over a cloth, on to which the blood flows. As soon as the child is born it is wrapped in this blood-

[1] The ordinary basket, called *maḳṭaf*.

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and warm exclamations of approval were heard on all sides as he proceeded. Finally he stood up on a high bench, and, one hand against his face and the other holding a rosary, worked himself up to an even greater pitch of fervour, gesticulating with the hand which held the beads. The audience too became more and more enthusiastic, and there were constant cries of "*Yā sheikh!*" ("O sheikh!"), "*Aiwa, keda!*" ("Yes, thus!"), as we might say, "Yes, go on!" One man at last got so beside himself with emotional fervour that he rose abruptly from his seat, tore off his turban, which he hurled at the sheikh, and then clasped him by the knees. Others too followed his example, flinging themselves in admiration on the sheikh.

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When the recitations had gone on for some time there was a pause, and more coffee was handed round, and also more of my cigarettes. During this interval one of the sheikh's assistants went the round of the guests, to inquire of each whether he desired a *Fātiḥeh* to be repeated for himself, or for friends, the latter being mentioned by name. Each person presented the assistant with a small sum of money. Very many *Fātiḥehs* were said for me and for my family, while I made similar requests for several of my village friends. Then the recitations began again, and shortly after there was another pause as before. I am afraid to say how many boxes of cigarettes I distributed, but I do know that they were thoroughly appreciated.

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This performance was continued till nearly midnight, when at last I rose to take leave of my friends. My departure broke up the assembly, and the rest of the guests quickly dispersed to their several homes. I was told afterward that it was one of the most successful *mawālid* that had ever been held; never had they had so many cigarettes to smoke, and never had the sheikh and his assistants received so much money! I regret to say that the child for whose benefit this *mūlid* was held died rather suddenly before I left Egypt.

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Among the Copts the child receives its name at baptism, when the parents take it to the church. Total immersion is the recognized form of baptism among the Copts, and, according to Dr A. J. Butler,[1] the rite is permissible only in certain seasons of the year, and no child should be baptized during Lent, Holy Week, or at Eastertide. The same authority also states that a boy must be

[1] *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt* (Oxford, 1884), vol. ii. p. 264.

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782 a blessing, or to urge some special petition, such as the gift of children. He states that the suppliants believe that a more favourable reception to their prayers will be granted if offered up in such sacred places.

842 778 123 *Barakeh* is also occasionally believed to be possessed by, or attached to, living people. Over and over again women have come up to touch me because they believed I had this virtue. Among the numbers of women who in 1926 came to me to step over the blue glazed charms which I always take about with me was a young married woman who was in a state almost verging on madness because she had no children. Five years ago she had given birth to a child which survived only a few hours. Since then she had had no hope of becoming a mother. She was in a desperate plight, and her fears were increased because she suspected that her husband would shortly divorce her as there seemed to be no prospect of a family. She begged and entreated me to help her, so I suggested the charms, over which she stepped seven times. She came a second and a third time, becoming more and more frantic as time went on.

The last time she visited me she said, " O gracious lady, I know you *can* help me if you will ; we all know you have so much *barakeh* ! " She then seized my hand, pressing it against her, and saying, " You *can* give me *barakeh* if you will ! "

I expressed my sorrow for and sympathy with her, and she took her departure. Not long after I heard from one of her fellow-villagers that her wish was at last realized, and that she had hopes of becoming a mother. It was all put down to me, and she called it *my* child ! Many people after this came to me from her village for the same purpose, and all, so I heard, met with the same success. The population of that village should be appreciably increased through my supposed *barakeh* !

842 764 It is a popular belief in Egypt that if a dead child is tightly bound in its shroud the mother cannot conceive again. Therefore the shroud and the cords binding it are always loosened just before burial, dust also being put in the child's lap. The dust is put there, so I was told, in order to keep the body lying on its back. The woman who gave me this information said that sometimes a body twists round when decomposition sets in, and if this happens the mother cannot have another child. If, in spite of precautions, the woman as time goes on seems to have no prospect of again becoming

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spread custom, for, being a somewhat private operation, it would not be talked about freely, and one must have been on very familiar terms with the people for a long time before being invited to be present on such an occasion.

Quite recently I was present at another rite performed by two childless women. A third woman held a long, wide piece of black material over her head and outstretched arms, so that she was completely covered (Fig. 47). This garment is called a *tōb*, and is the one worn by women out of doors. The woman who thus officiates must be one who has had children that have died. One of the childless women then crept underneath the *tōb* and walked round the officiant seven times, always keeping well under the garment (Fig. 48). The second woman then followed suit. No woman who has walked round another woman in this way must in her turn thus hold the *tōb* for another, for if she did the benefit she had hoped to secure by walking under this garment would be taken from her.

FIG. 48. WOMEN CREEPING UNDER THE TŌB

These two women, hearing that I was coming to the village in which the ceremony was to take place, delayed carrying it out until I could be present, in the hope of getting the additional benefit of

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my *barakeh*. I am happy to say that in both cases the performance was crowned with success!

I have already mentioned that the peasants appear to believe that ancient things are specially endowed with *barakeh*, and that on that account they may be efficacious in curing childless women of their barrenness. On the site of an ancient temple in Middle Egypt is a pool of water in which large inscribed stones are partly submerged, while others lie on the ground close by. The site is

FIG. 49. WOMEN PERAMBULATING THE POOL ON THE SITE OF AN ANCIENT TEMPLE

called *el-Kenīseh* (the Church) by the peasants, probably because it became known that it is the site of an ancient temple. This pool is believed to possess miraculous powers, and every Friday childless women flock thither from all the surrounding villages. They clamber over the stones on the edge of the pool and also over those which are partly submerged, performing this somewhat arduous feat three times, and going more or less in a circular direction (Fig. 49). After this they hope to conceive.

Curiously enough, women come to this spot and act in the same manner to prevent conception. On the occasion of my visit to the pool one of the women who was there told me that she had come for this latter purpose. She did not want to have another child for some time, as she had one or two very young children living

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mourning, which could easily be distinguished by the number of men seated outside it; these observed almost complete silence, instead of carrying on an animated conversation as they would have done in happier circumstances.

I was courteously received by the men and conducted to the apartment in which the women were assembled. The house was one of the type always to be found in Egyptian villages, built of crude bricks, and with steep, rough steps inside the building leading up to the roof. In the first room which we entered lay the coffin—a long, narrow box, made of planks of wood hastily nailed together, over which was stretched a covering of black cloth decorated with white crosses and other designs in *appliqué*. We passed through this room into an inner apartment, in which a large number of women were sitting on the ground, uttering from time to time piercing cries of grief. The sister of the dead man came toward me, her hair and dress dishevelled. As she advanced she swayed from side to side in a kind of dance, keeping both arms extended. She at once conducted me into a small room which led out of that occupied by the women. It was dark except for a glimmer of light which penetrated through the half-open door. A mattress was on the floor—indeed, it occupied most of the available space—and on it was stretched the body of the dead man, covered with a coloured sheet. From the end of the room, which was in pitch darkness, came the piercing cries of wailing women. Presently the sister drew aside the coverlet and invited me to take a seat on the mattress beside the dead man. This was no doubt very polite of her, but it was rather more than I could stand—not that I feared the dead, but because the mattress was almost certain to be covered with vermin. I managed to evade the offer without hurting anyone's feelings, and returned to the larger concourse of women in the adjoining room. Each of these women had a coloured handkerchief—green, blue, or purple, or some of these colours combined—such as are carried by women at all funerary ceremonies. Some of them possessed two such handkerchiefs knotted together. They held them in front of them, stretched out at full length, and as they swayed from side to side, wailing and bemoaning the dead, they would wave the handkerchiefs up and down. The faces of the women, as well as their hands and arms, were smeared with blue dye.

Presently I went out to speak to the men, who evidently dis-

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THE FELLAHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

Coptic Priests are often believed, both by Christians and Muslims to possess the power of healing. If anyone is bitten by a mad dog a priest is called in to see the sufferer. He takes some of the hair of the mad dog, and, after rubbing the wound with spirit, places the hair on it and sets it alight. This must be done by a priest only, otherwise the person who was bitten will get hydrophobia.

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The village 'doctor' or 'surgeon' is also called upon to treat

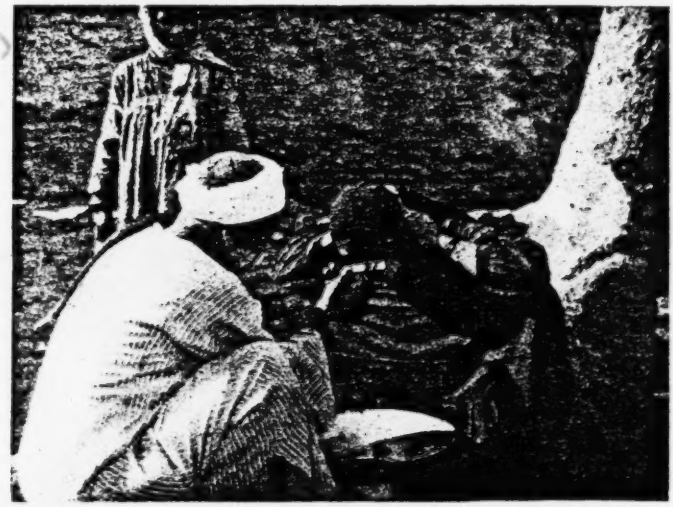

FIG. 128. SCRAPING THE BLOOD OFF THE FOREHEAD AFTER CUTTING IT AS A CURE FOR HEADACHE

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animals when necessary. If an animal has a pain in one leg, for instance, it is branded with a red-hot nail on the part that is affected. When riding through the fields one day I saw a cow that had been branded on one of its legs, the marks forming a pattern (Fig. 130). On inquiry I was told that this had been done because the cow had had a pain in that part which was branded.

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When travelling about Egypt it is my custom to take a large basket of medicines with me, and I do my best to cure simple cases of illness. Thanks to an excellent prescription given to me by a doctor friend of mine in England I have been able to cure some really appalling cases of inflammation of the eyes (Fig. 129). The peasants react in a remarkable way to simple cures, and many a

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[Text continued on page 216]

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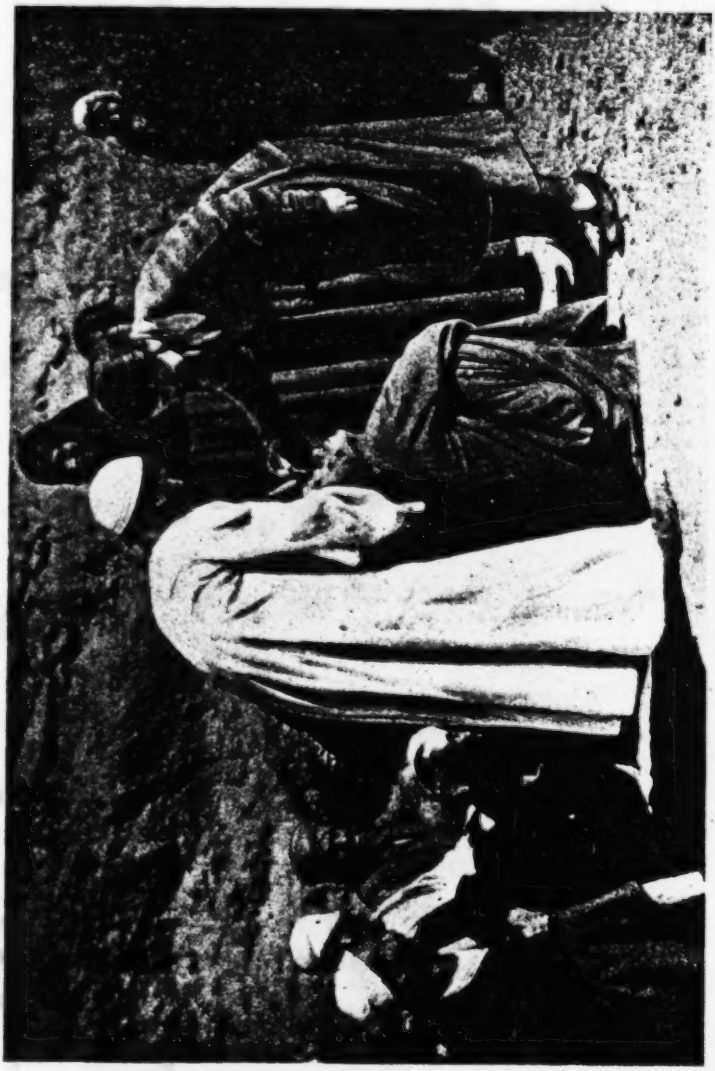

FIG. 129. ATTENDING TO THE EYES OF ONE OF MY PATIENTS

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THE FELLĀḤĪN OF UPPER EGYPT

case of bad skin disease has been alleviated by application of boracic cream! Cascara also is largely in demand, and it is no exaggeration to say that I give away hundreds of these tabloids every year. Cases of fever likewise have recovered rapidly with judiciously administered doses of aspirin or quinine. This practice of mine has earned for me the name of the Sheikheh Shifā (the Sheikheh of Healing), and it is a title which I much appreciate and

FIG. 130. COW BRANDED AS A CURE FOR PAIN IN THE LEG

value, however undeserved it may be. I have been much touched by the gratitude shown me by many of my poor patients, and in some parts of Egypt there have been occasions when I have treated over a hundred of them a day (Fig. 131). It brings me into close touch with the people, and gives me opportunities of talking to the women about keeping their children clean and impressing on them the value of soap and water. I now make it a rule never to give medicine for any child who is brought to me in a dirty state. The mother has to go home and wash it first, and then bring it to me again. I am glad to say that they nearly always return with a very much cleaner infant.

Greater facilities for providing the peasants with adequate medical treatment are urgently needed in Egypt at the present

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scripts, one of which he designates the " Book of Adam." He has with great labour collected and written out magical cures and protections for those troubled by *'afārīt*, and these form the contents of one of the books. He learnt his art, so he told me, from another magician, who was not a member of his family, but under whom he served a long apprenticeship.

During my sojourn in Egypt I have been given many accounts of the wonderful cures wrought by magicians on people possessed by *'afārīt*. I wrote the details down when they were given to me, and some of them may be interesting to my readers. The names of the people concerned, and the villages in which they live, are suppressed, in deference to their feelings; indeed, it would be a breach of confidence to divulge them. Such happenings are not usually discussed with foreigners, and were related to me only because I am regarded by the villagers as a trustworthy friend.

A young man in Upper Egypt became very angry with his wife one night while she was sitting in front of the fire cooking the evening meal. In his anger he took a pottery water-bottle (a *kulleh*) and struck her with it. In doing this he broke the bottle, and the water and some of the pieces of pottery fell into the fire, extinguishing it. The next moment he heard a voice saying to him, " You have broken the head of one of my children, so I will come into you [*i.e.*, possess you]." The man thereupon became mad, and began to tear his own face, and strike all those who came near him. Some of his relatives, seeing his terrible condition, proceeded to bind his hands behind his back and tie his feet together at the ankles, to prevent him doing further harm to himself or anyone else; but he continued to cry out and to speak meaningless words. His relatives took him to one doctor after another, but they could do him no good, and he continued in the same condition of violent madness.

At last, when he had remained in this state for three months, they went to see a certain sheikh. This man is a magician, and of a charitable character, and they begged him to cure the unfortunate man, pleading at the same time his poverty. The sheikh, who possesses (for he is still alive) many books of incantations and charms such as those mentioned above, listened sympathetically to their pleading, and consented to visit the sufferer, but he told them that they must first bring him a small piece of one of the garments belonging to the madman. They went home and

proves the capacities of the fellah. Here again the question of education comes in.

Nowadays the resistance to enlistment should be growing less. The men are better treated. When they leave the army, in decent clothes, after five years of service under military discipline, they have lost their uncouthness and become *effendis*, gentlemen.

When a fellah is in barracks, or when he has taken up work in a town so as to make a little money, he never forgets his native village, and homesickness shows on his stolid face. He tries at least to keep up contact with home and to retain some of its habits. Many a time the author has written letters at the dictation of these illiterate peasants, who hate being uprooted. It is always the same story: "Tell me how the crops are getting on. Give my best wishes to So-and-so, and to So-and-so".

If the vital interests of a village are in immediate danger, each villager feels a strong sense of unity with the group; men, women, and children unite in a single force. Witness the dramatic affair of Abu Shâdy in 1936. As part of a scheme to reorganise the drainage the Irrigation Department had decided to cut off a canal that had watered the whole district for thirty years. The entire population rose against the labourers, against the police, even against the military, to prevent the diversion of the water. They held out against all these forces for several days. The women stood in the front line to urge on the men, the children provided a supply of missiles, and a regular strategy was improvised.

When a moneylender, a landowner, or a *nâzer* has carried his exactions too far, and is killed with public approval, the finest sleuth cannot discover the murderer, so close is the conspiracy of silence. Should one village, or even a few people belonging to it, insult or injure the next, the inhabitants of the latter show a united front and avenge the insult with stones, clubs or guns (for many fellaheen possess these forbidden arms. Thanks, however, to the intervention of the police, these village wars are becoming less common, though private feuds are still as frequent, as fierce, and as sudden as ever (**).

Here is one of the contradictions of fellah life. In the village everybody knows everybody else, and no-one would

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113 his fellow countrymen. No book since the days of Lane's
114 epoch-making work on the *Manners of the Modern Egyptians* (first published in 1836) has appeared to add, to any appreciable extent, to our knowledge of the folklore and magic of the dwellers of the Nile Valley. One recent book by Miss Blackman, *The Fellāḥīn of Upper Egypt* (London, 1928) does attempt to survey the ground, but it is only a tentative, albeit a praiseworthy, effort. Her photographic illustrations are especially interesting. But a great deal still remains to be done, and it is to be hoped that Miss Blackman and others working in the same field of research, may receive the assistance from the public that they merit. There are some secret rites, such as those
[103] of the *Zār* (see pages 64-7), which can be properly investigated only by a woman.

113 Similar superstitious practices observed in neighbouring Moslem lands, it may be noted in passing, may be usefully
[101] derived from Dr. T. Canaan's *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel* (Hamburg, 1914) and from E. Doutté's *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, 1909), as well as from Westermarck's *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926). Mention must also be made of Herklots' *Islam in India* (new ed. by W. Crooke, Oxford, 1921), which is a mine of folk customs. As for the instruments employed by North African village surgeons, an illuminating study of these will be found in Hilton Simpson's *Arab Surgery and Medicine* (London, 1922). Folk-medicine among the Moroccan womenfolk is also recorded by A. R. de Lens in his *Pratiques des harems marocains* (Paris, 1925). M. Rouyer's *Notice sur les médicamens usuels des Égyptiens* in the *Description de l'Égypte* (2nd ed.), xi, (1822), pp. 429–460, does not deal with the superstitious medical practices of the people; while Dr. Chafey Bey's lecture to the Institut Égyptien, entitled *De la médecine des empiriques en Égypte* (*Bulletin* No. 4, pp. 25, 44–46, 505–512) is but a cursory introduction to the subject. Much of the folk-medicine of Moslems can be extracted from the numerous Arabic books on magic, and particularly from such a treatise as the traditional medicine of the prophet Muḥammad, the so-called *Al-Ṭibb al-Nabawī*, of which a French translation, *La médecine du Prophète*, was published by Perron at Algiers in

5:Blackman E-5 (1923)1926 MR13 Fellahin MR13

"our brothers and sisters beneath the earth," but they are separate beings from the *aḳrān* (pl. of *ḳarīn*), though the two communities are in touch with each other.

The *aḳrān* are believed to be of different colours, some being white, some black; their looks also vary, as some are beautiful and some are ugly. This belief is easily accounted for, as each peron's *ḳarīn* is a facsimile of him or herself, and doubtless the colours are racial distinctions. The *aḳrān* are not, I believe, always malevolent, though stories of their mischief-making propensities are commoner than accounts of their good deeds.

Not only do the *aḳrān* resemble their prototypes on earth in person, but also in character—in fact, they faithfully reflect in themselves all the actions, both good and bad, of their earthly duplicates. Thus, if a man or woman gets into a temper, his or her "double" does the same; if they suffer pain and sickness, so also does his *ḳarīn*, or her *ḳarīneh*. This point was brought out clearly one day last year when a large number of women had come to see me and to have their eyes doctored. One of them was speaking about her *ḳarīneh*, so I said, "But your eyes are very bad now, what about those of your *ḳarīneh*?" "Oh," she replied, "her eyes are also bad." "Poor thing," I said; "but who is looking after her eyes?" "Why, your *ḳarīneh*, ginab es-sitt," the woman immediately answered.

The following is another example of the intimate connection between a human being and his or her "double." When an argument begins between two or more men or women and a mischievous bystander wants to lead them into a real quarrel, he will take two bricks and place them together thus— , or he will take off one of his shoes and place it on the ground upside down, *i.e.* with the sole uppermost. This will make the disputants quarrel violently, and finally they will resort to blows. As soon as the bricks are taken apart, or the shoe replaced on the foot of its owner, the quarrelling will stop. My informant himself had witnessed an experiment of this kind. A friend of his, seeing two men arguing in the cultivation, placed one of his shoes sole upwards, on the ground. The disputants immediately started a violent quarrel, hitting out and striking each other. Then the friend replaced the shoe on his foot, and at once the quarrel ceased.

The belief is that when people start quarrelling their *aḳrān* come up above the ground and quarrel too. They are, of course, invisible, but they see the bricks or the shoe, as the case may be, and as long as the bricks remain together, or the shoe remains on the ground, they will continue to fight. As long as the *aḳrān* quarrel, the people to whom they belong must quarrel too.

Again, a man's *ḳarīn* marries the *ḳarīneh* of his wife, and when a man or woman dies, his *ḳarīn* or her *ḳarīneh* dies also. I had been informed of these facts several times, and the reality of the belief was brought home to me in the following way. An Egyptian friend of mine died last year, and I was sitting with his wife one day after his death, when a woman magician came to pay us a visit. I suggested a *séance*, whereupon the magician seated herself in a corner of the room and asked for a blanket

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with which she completely covered herself. Presently she clapped her hands two or three times, thus summoning "the brothers and sisters beneath the earth," *i.e.* the *'afārīt*. They spoke to her, and after various messages from them had been conveyed to us through the magician, my friend's wife asked her to enquire what had become of her husband's *ḳarīn*. "Oh," replied the *'afārīt*, "he is dead also, and your *ḳarīneh* is a widow." The magician was something of a ventriloquist, and her voice changed completely when the *'afārīt* spoke through her.

As I have stated above, the *aḳrān*, besides being like their human prototypes in colouring and physical features, also resemble them in character. The Egyptians are of a very jealous disposition, and this quality is strongly marked among the women with regard to the possession of children. Childlessness is a real terror to them, and the more children they have, the happier they are. Such, at any rate, is the case among the *fellāḥīn*. They are often very jealous of the offspring of another, and therefore precautions are taken to protect the children from the ill-effects of the "evil-eye," or "eye of envy."

A woman's *ḳarīneh* may also be jealous of the human children, in spite of the fact that if a child is born to a woman the *ḳarīn* or *ḳarīneh* of that child represents the offspring of the mother's *ḳarīneh*. Various measures are taken to safeguard the human child from the possible machinations of its mother's "double." Indeed, the mother herself, during her pregnancy, must also be protected, for her *ḳarīneh*, in a fit of jealousy, may come at night while she sleeps and strike her "on the belly," thus causing premature birth. This is curious, as, presumably, the mother's *ḳarīneh* would also lose her child. But, at any rate in some parts of Egypt, the belief is that when a child dies it goes to the mother's *ḳarīneh*, who would in this way possess at least one child, even if her own child (*i.e.* the human child's "double") died at the same time as its human prototype.

Sometimes the *ḳarīneh* speaks roughly to the expectant mother, but refrains from striking her. In such a case the woman will go at daybreak to see a magician or a *sheikh* and will ask him to write a protection (*ḥigāb*) for her. The protection (or written charm) is the agreement of the *ḳarīnehs* with King David- for it happened one day that David saw one of them unfasten her hair, and fire was issuing from her mouth. So he asked her, "What is your work?" She answered him, "If a woman is pregnant, I come by night and strike her on her belly, so that she will give birth to a dead child. And if I do not do this, but allow her to bear the child safely, I may sometimes come and strike the baby, or cause a snake to bite or a scorpion to sting it, so that it will die." Then David said to her, "If this is your work I will kill you," and he spoke threateningly to her. So she made an agreement with him and said, "If a mother carries your words on her person I will never do her harm." So David consented to this suggestion and let her go on her way. Therefore, if a pregnant woman thinks she has cause to fear that her *ḳarīneh* will do her an injury, she will apply for a *ḥigāb* and wear it till her child is born, when she will give it to the infant,